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ABSTRACT

This booklet presents summaries of the proceedings of five workshops held at the U.S. Department of Education that discussed strategies for improving urban schools. The first section contains materials from a workshop on the New Haven School Intervention Project, an elementary school effort designed to aid black and disadvantaged children. In the second section, the search for effective schools is covered. This includes the development of criteria for judging school success and student academic achievement. Section three reviews the workshop on urban schools. Several issues are discussed including program implementation, educational reform, minimum competency requirements, and administrative leadership. The fourth section discusses the teacher expectation workshop's review of two projects, implemented in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, which were designed to raise academic achievement by raising teachers' expectations of their students. The final workshop summary outlines issues regarding effective teacher training which would include teacher evaluation and inservice training. (APM)

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PROCEEDINGS

Strategies for Urban School Improvement

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Introduction

A series of five workshops on "Strategies for Urban School Improvement" were held at the U. S. Department of Education from May 29 to June 26, 1980. These workshops were sponsored by the Office of School Improvement and the Education Forum Branch of the Horace Mann Learning Center, Office of Human Resources. They were designed to explore solutions to the problems of urban education in order to determine new directions that could be taken by the Federal government in the area of urban school improvement.

Special appreciation is extended to Floretta McKenzie, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Office of School Improvement, for sponsoring the series of workshops, and to the Urban Initiatives Staff, Kathlyn Moses, Director, and Maurice Sykes, Education Program Specialist, for their involvement in the development of the program design.

We thank Elizabeth Farquhar, W. Thomas Carter, Shirley Jackson, Dustin Wilson and Janice Cromer for serving as recorders during the series.

These proceedings were edited by Susan Lueck, Education Forum Branch, Horace Mann Learning Center.

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Floretta McKenzie

Kathlyn Moses

Photographs by: Robert Adams

Workshop Participants

Thomas K. Minter

James Comer

Shirle Childs

James Jacobs

THE NEW HAVEN SCHOOL INTERVENTION PROJECT

The workshop on the New Haven School Intervention Project was chaired by Floretta McKenzie, Deputy Assistant Secretary for School Improvement, U.S. Department of Education. Dr. Thomas Minter, Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education, introduced the workshop. Katnlyn Moses, Director of the Urban Initiatives Program, introduced the keynote speaker, Dr. James Comer, who is Maurice Falk Professor of Child Psychiatry and Director of the Schools Program at the Yale Child Study Center, and Associate Dean of the Yale University Medical School. Following his address, Dr. Milton Bins, Director of the Council of Great City Schools, moderated a discussion by two reactors to Dr. Comer, Dr. Snirle Childs of the Hartford Public Schools and Dr. James Jacobs of the Cincinnati Public Schools.

Dr. Thomas Minter, Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education, U.S. Department of Education

Dr. Minter noted that there is no single set of answers to the problems of urban education, but that through a myriad of different programs interrelating and working together, such as Title I, Title IV-B, Follow Through, Office of Educational Research and Improvement programs and others, we can develop keys and strategies for attacking the problems. He described the Federal role as one of "pump primer," i.e., helping to identify and disseminate exemplary programs.

Dr. James Comer, Maurice Falk Professor of Child Psychiatry, Director of the Schools Program, Yale Child Study Center, and Associate Dean, Yale University Medical School

Dr. Comer, Director of the New Haven School Intervention Project, began by describing the characteristics of schools he has worked with, before and after the project.

The project began in 1968 in two elementary schools with funding from the Ford Foundation and Title I. The schools were 99 percent black and among the lowest in the poverty indices used by the city. In both schools, students were two years below grade level in reading and math. There was poor student and staff attendance, a great deal of vandalism, apathy and anger. The behavior of students, parents and staff was troublesome and negative.

At the end of five years, the project left one school but continued in the other. In 1979, in the school remaining, the students were at grade level in language arts, and less than two months behind in reading and math. They were among the top four schools in attendance in the city and have been for the past five years. The teachers nave had the best attendance record in the last three years. There have been no serious behavior problems in over five years and no students on medication for behavior in over five years. Parent and staff relationships are very positive. In sum, there has been a dramatic change in both achievement and climate in that school.

Comer then moved on to discuss the basic assumptions which provided the philosophical base for the project. The first assumption is that children are basically able, that children and families are interested in schooling, and that teachers are basically caring.

The second is that the basic problems which obstruct effective schooling are interactional problems. The interactional problems result from the historical alienation between black low-income communities and middle-income mainstream institutions such as the school. The geographic isolation, poor communication and lack of community between tne school and the minority families intensifies the distrust. A disproportionate number of low-income minority families are marginal in the social system and as a result, do not have the social skills needed to make it in mainstream institutions. Consequently, a great number of black

low-income children come to school under-developed intellectually, socially or psychologically, or adequately developed but with skills that are useful and acceptable outside the school but not in school.

Comer believes that what the school needs to do is to recognize that these children are able but lack certain skills and to help the children to acquire the skills needed for school success. He said that behavioral and social science principles must be applied "on the firing line," but that most school staffs do not have the child development, human relations and mental health knowledge and skills required for this task.

Comer went on to discuss the form that the interactional problems take. Schools label the children as good or bad, smart or dumb. The children react to being labeled and put down, and either fight back by undermining the teacher and taking over the classroom or withdrawing. The staff, in turn, becomes frustrated and angry. They displace their anger and inability to function on the children and the community and their social group. They decrease their expectations for good performance. The parents become angry and either get into conflict with the school or avoid it. An atmosphere of despair, hopelessness, and conflict develops and from that point on everyone else who comes into the school is socialized into it.

The project strategy attempted to break the pattern. The project was based upon the concept that if the climate and relationships between home and school and between parents, teachers and administrators were improved, that children would learn. It attempted to apply social and behavioral principles to all aspects of the school program.

Moving from theory to practice, Comer then described the specific methods the project used to accomplish its objectives. First, the project developed a governing/managing system that was advisory to the principal and representative of all of the people in the school -- parents, teachers, administrators, etc. That group shared in identifying the problems in the school, planning to address those problems, identifying resources, mobilizing resources to address problems, implementing programs, evaluating and modifying programs, etc. The objective was to reduce antagonisms and restore the sense of trust and community that had existed in the early part of the century between home and school.

The first year, reported Comer, was extremely chaotic and difficult, but eventually the interaction between parents and staff led to a coalition of people working toward improvement and a consensus about what needed to be accomplished.

Next, he explained, they developed a parent participation program to help to decrease the alienation and distrust that existed. They started by pulling parents and staff together in a summer session to look at the curriculum. Eventually, they developed a three-level parent participation program. At the first level was a core group of parents of about 30-40 who plan projects in the school with the school staff. About 10-15 of those parents work in the classroom. The parents involved were those that had children in the school and they graduated when their children graduated. The presence of this group of parents in the school communicated to the children a sense of caring and respect for the school and an interest in student learning, as contrasted with previous communications that the school was the "enemy." This gave new support to the teachers and eliminated many of the influences that had been counterproductive.

At the second level was the school advisory committee, a group of parents who were elected and served with the principal and teachers in making policy for the school.

Third was the general participation level, those parents who participated in activities but could not for one reason or another help to organize them. They participated now because those parents in the other two levels invited them.

The result was that the community was drawn much closer to the school. Whereas previously an average turnout for a school program had been 25 parents, it rose to 900 parents. In addition, much of the alienation eroded. As this occurred, parents began to request information on ways they could be helpful to their children. Many teachers and staff began to work with parents to pass on this kind of information.

Comer next described another element of the project, the mental health team. This team was comprised of a psychiatrist, a social worker, a psychologist evaluator, and a helping teacher. Their function was to transmit knowledge about human behavior and apply that knowledge to the planning and development of school programs. One member of the team participated on the school advisory committee, thus enabling the team to work with the principal, parents, and staff.

The mental health team worked with the core parent team to help them to develop skills in planning and implementing since one of their major problems was that they didn't have sufficient knowledge about how schools functioned and sufficient skills in specific areas. It also worked directly and indirectly with teachers and students.

The mental health team also developed a pupil personnel program to which problem children could be referred. The team analyzed the reasons for a particular child's problem and worked out management plans for helping the staff to deal with the problem. The successful management of student problems caused other teachers to trust and utilize the service until eventually so many cases were successfully managed that problems began to decline.

Also, as the program became successful, Comer reported, teachers began coming to the mental health team just to get information about ways of dealing with children and to share information about children and their families with each other. Eventually this evolved into a seminar which became an official way of working and translating information in the school. They also looked at general problems in the schools and their dynamics.

The climate of the system began to change very greatly, from one of fatigue, frustration and anger to one of energy and experimentation, as the interactional problems began to decrease. One of the side effects was that experienced teachers and specialists began to come in and help other teachers develop their skills.

Comer then described an additional component of the project, the social skills curriculum, which was sponsored by the National Institutes of Mental Health, Minority Centers Program. This was a systematic program to teach children the types of skills that would help them to identify with the larger social system, skills that many middle-income children receive simply by growing up with their parents, but that low-income children are missing. Units in this program included Banking in Business, Health and Nutrition, Spiritual or Leisure Time and Government. The social skills program helped to give meaning to learning abstract basic skills, such as writing and arts, by providing a context in which to use them. For example, as part of the Government unit, students wrote letters inviting the mayoralty candidates to speak at the school; since the best letter was used, writing took on importance.

A discovery room was developed for children who were growing up in families under stress which concentrated on helping children learn how to make it in the system, through a method similar to play therapy. This enabled many children to relate better in the classroom situation.

Still another innovation of the project which Comer spoke of was to have the same teacher teach a group of children for two years in a row. In this way, many children who just began to make progress at the end of the year, didn't lose that momentum by being uprooted. They were able to catch up in the second year because they could build on where they'd been. The continuity provided by a two-year program helped to compensate for the fact that many youngsters from low-income families have so much turnover in their lives.

Comer reported that the project is now in operation in another elementary school and in a middle school, and that the same trends are developing that were seen in the first school.

Having discussed the project, Comer went on to explain the evaluation process they used. He underscored the fact that they did not believe in forcing a research plan on the system but rather believed in having the research grow out of the practice. They kept a diary of what was going on in the project and used it as feedback. They also used questionnaires, outside evaluators, some hypothesis testing on a limited basis, and achievement testing.

One of the project's findings was that there are no "test tube" answers to school improvement problems, that it has to be "hammered out on the spot in a particular school, by the people who are involved in the schooling process."

Comer made a number of recommendations for improving urban schools, based on his experience. First, he cited the need for preservice training to assist teachers and administrators in developing: intrapersonal skills, to assist them in knowing their own attitudes; interpersonal skills, to assist them in relating to these differences among themselves; and environment manipulation skills to assist them in working to change the climate in a school. He called for training in child development, mental health, and curriculum development knowledge as well. He also recommended a systematic screening process to screen out those people who can't learn such skills.

Regarding inservice education for those already in the schools, Comer called for programs dealing with similar types of skills but that are school-based, i.e., that fit the needs of the individual school.

Finally, Comer addressed the issues of replication and dissemination of his findings. He noted that dissemination required the mobilization of people in a school rather than the circulation of materials. For this reason, he explained, they have initiated a dissemination system in New Haven which is based on the use of a change agent team in the school system, composed of one school person and one social scientist. The social science person will attempt to develop some knowledge about education and the educator will try to develop more behavioral and social science skills. They will be trained by the Center for the Application of Research on Education in research methodology and how to use research in school. The Center will have seminars on child development, applied mental health and curriculum development. It will also sponsor a practicum in which the two trainees work with a group of principals in the schools to assist them in developing their own school program. He added that only those who are a part of change within their own system will be accepted in the program.

Comer concluded by summarizing his theory: that schools and children are able to succeed but are prevented from succeeding by interactional problems; that we must develop ways to address the interactional problems at the local level; and that that will bring about the change required to improve the schools.

Dr. Shirle Childs, Director, Early Childhood Program, Hartford Board of Education

In reacting to Dr. Comer, Dr. Childs wholeheartedly supported his statements

emphasizing that she was particularly concerned about the problem of urban children entering school underdeveloped in certain skills. Sharing her experiences in working with the screening of preschool children for developmental delays, she called for more involvement by parents, teachers, and teacher training institutions in the screening of preschool children for developmental deficiencies and the design of programs to correct those deficiencies. She also recommended that preschool programs begin with children below kindergarten and extend for more than 2-3 hours.

Dr. Childs emphasized the scope of skill deficiency problems in young children in the areas of information processing, concept recognition, motor control and verbal reasoning, stating that over 90 percent of the children in Hartford were significantly below the 23rd percentile in verbal reasoning. She added that the effects of television on this problem needed to be examined. She expressed her belief that cross-age groupings, as had been used in England, might be helpful in correcting deficiencies.

Dr. Childs also identified the need to examine the areas of agreement and disagreement regarding expectations as to how children should be performing at each stage of development. She reinforced the importance of the need for a climate of orderliness.

Finally, Dr. Childs decried the complications that result from the overlapping and conflicting guidelines of various Federal programs among the same student populations, namely, Title I, Head Start and P.L. 94-142.

Dr. James Jacobs, Superintendent, Cincinnati Public Schools

In reacting to Dr. Comer's presentation, Dr. Jacobs raised a number of questions regarding cost and replicability. How much money would a project like this require? How many school systems could keep a change agent such as Comer for 12 years in the same school? How many school systems in this day of budget-cutting could afford the services of a psychiatrist for each school? Of psychologists and social workers?

Jacobs also raised issues of evidence and follow-through results. Where is the evidence of success? Are the effects maintained as the youngsters proceed into higher grade levels? Are there any measurable residual effects? Or is there a slippage factor?

Next Jacobs asked about the role of the principal in this project. He noted that most good projects are associated with school principals who are unusually committed, who attract unusually committed staffs and discourage staff who are not of the same persuasion. He commented that this kind of project seemed to be based on the use of extraordinarily well-adjusted staffers. Again, he asked, how many such staffers will we be able to find who are capable of putting aside their own needs to respond to those of other people?

James Comer, Response

Dr. Comer responded to these issues. Regarding cost and replication, he explained that the crux of the project was its premises, not its staff. He pointed out that he is rarely on-site, perhaps 10 days out of a year. He also stated that many schools do have social workers, helping teachers and psychologists but that they are working on individuals in a way that doesn't address system problems or interactional problems between home and school, principals, teachers and children. He emphasized that the project could be replicated if existing staff were trained differently and asked to address different problems.

Regarding the need for well-adjusted staffs and strong principals, Comer pointed out that his notion does not require people who have all the skills. Rather, he explained, it requires a climate where people can be secure enough to recognize that they don't have all the skills but that they can utilize those

that are available for assistance -- consultants, social workers and helping staffs. Comer added that the project did not concentrate on the psychological problems of individual staff members but rather on the school program, and that, only if personal problems interfered, were they addressed.

In terms of costs, Comer explained that the idea again was to transmit the concept and principles of the project to existing staffs who would be trained by change agents trained by his group. A special group, such as his project had, might serve an entire school district or a region.

Regarding residual effects, Comer stated that the project has been moving more and more away from the school for three years and the results have been sustained. He explained that they have been developing mechanisms to ensure that the various aspects of the project are carried on by existing staff. For example, Title I monies are being used to have one of the teachers take over the parent participation program.

Although they have not had systematic follow-through studies, Comer explained, they do plan to. However, he added, they do know through vignettes that their students have become the leaders and achievers at the middle school.

Discussion

A participant asked Comer whether his program used traditional or open classroom style. He responded that they used both, depending on the teacher's style. He described the school's early experience in totally opening up all of the classrooms, which resulted in complete chaos. They recognized that many of the children had had too little structure all along, so they moved back to a more structured situation and then opened it up gradually for those teachers that were interested in moving in that direction. They also had workshops for teachers to help them manage open classroom situations. Comer explained that they have found the children can move from one to the other without difficulty, as long as the expectations are discussed clearly.

The next questioner asked Comer whether he felt his ideas would translate into a school system which was half middle class and half low-income. Comer replied that whatever the situation, you simply organize to deal with it and its own unique characteristics. In such a case you may have to organize to help the middle income parents become conscious of their needs to dominate and to help the low-income parents to develop skills enabling them to participate. It is necessary to create the climate which makes it possible for whatever program you're trying to develop to work.

In response to the question of whether or not there were other Federal, state, or local programs which overlapped with his and whether there were any efforts at coordination, Comer responded affirmatively. He explained that there was a Focus program that was funded by Title I and many volunteer programs, all of which they coordinated through the school advisory council, the principal and the social worker. The school is now being used as a model of coordination for the New Haven Public Schools in determining how to coordinate special education, special services, research and others.

Comer was asked what evidence he used to determine that the school had moved from low- to high-achieving. He indicated that they used the standardized achievement tests, attendance results, parent questionnaires, and their own student tests. However, he stated that the biggest indicator is the difference in what you see, i.e., polite and cheerful behavior where there had been noise, chaos and fighting.

In response to the question of whether the school set its expectations formally or informally, Comer replied that they had done both. However, he explained that what was crucial was that the critical people had been brought together and had come to their own consensus. And

once the program became everybody's program, there was social pressure from within to keep others on target of the objectives.

Regarding the school's interest in desegregation, Comer stated that no efforts were made in that direction. He explained that it was their belief that it was the quality of experience in the school that made the difference and not whether there was a white child next to a black child. He further explained that they couldn't wait til the communities acted to bring children's parents into the mainstream, they had to act with the children where they are now. He added that desegregation without teacher support and other supportive services can be very destructive for black children.

A participant queried Comer on the extent to which schools should become more like businesses. Comer stated that while the interpersonal aspects are different, schools need to be more interested in their outcomes, as businesses are. Also, he said, teachers need to be rewarded, not monetarily, but in human terms for their contributions.

Regarding the transition of the project's students to the middle school, Comer emphasized the importance of easing the transition to assure students that they will be able to succeed in a new setting. For example, he had the principal of the middle school make the graduation speech to students leaving fourth grade and welcome them to their new environment, and the children go over to the middle school to be introduced to the new setting. He added that they discovered some of the children were not able to handle the transition to departmentalized classes as evidenced by their behavior problems between classes, and they were placed in self contained classrooms until they could tolerate greater transition.

When asked for his views on culturally-biased tests, Comer stated that he doesn't have a great interest in them. He explained that what the project does is to build on the experience and knowledge that the students do have and to use that ability as a base for developing programs. For example, they utilize the child's concern about his/her body to get into studies of nutrition and health; they utilize his/her understanding of self and family to get into studies of history, etc.

Dr. Jacobs was asked how he screens principals and how he goes about upgrading principal skills. Jacobs replied that because of the union, he does not have that much power to screen out principals. However, he noted that we still have a lot to learn about what abilities make a good principal. Dr. Childs added that she feels principals need to be screened on the basis of their educational backgrounds which often do not relate to their responsibilities.

In response to a final question on Ron Edmonds' five elements for effective schools, Comer explained that the knowledge of those five elements alone is not going to change schools, but that the key is to create a process and a climate that will permit the five elements to exist. He said that what his project attempted to do was to develop that process.

William L. Smith

Ronald Edmonds

Reactors

Shirley Jackson

Lois Martin

John Crew

SEARCH FOR EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS

The workshop "Search for Effective Schools," was chaired by Dr. Tom Fagan, Deputy Director, Office of School Improvement. Dr. William Smith, Administrator of the Overseas Dependent Schools introduced the workshop. Kathlyn Moses, Director of the Urban Initiatives Program introduced the keynote speaker, Ronald Edmonds, Senior Assistant to the Chancellor for Instruction, New York City Public Schools. Reacting to Edmonds' address were Dr. Lois Martin of the Montgomery County Maryland Public Schools, Dr. John Crew of the Baltimore Public Schools, and Shirley Jackson, Director of the Basic Skills Improvement Program.

Dr. William Smith, Administrator, Overseas Dependent Schools, U.S. Department of Education

Dr. Smith pointed out that the urban initiatives developed under Commissioner Boyer emphasized that a) the problems in the schools could be dealt with by the people in the schools, and b) that here is a need for multiculturalism as an integral part of urban education. He also noted that international events and domestic economic events are impacting our urban areas and these influences must be addressed by urban education.

Ronald Edmonds, Senior Assistant to the Chancellor for Instruction, New York City Public Schools

Edmonds began by describing the nature of his research at the University of Michigan and Harvard. He explained that, up until 1972, the largest body of literature on the interaction between pupil performance and family background had concluded that family and social class cause pupil performance (Coleman and Jencks, et al.). In order to examine whether this was indeed a valid conclusion, he organized a set of research activities designed to determine whether there are schools in American cities that have come close to abolishing the conventional interaction between pupil performance, social class and family.

Edmonds and his major colleague John Frederiksen first analyzed all of the schools in the Detroit, Michigan model cities neighborhood, a homogeneous low-income area. They found dramatic differences in the achievement rates of various schools in that neighborhood.

Next, they attempted to determine whether Coleman and his colleagues would have found a greater number of effective schools serving poor neighborhoods if they had used a more sophisticated approach to the analysis of the data. To do this, they re-analyzed the Coleman data for the northeast quadrant of the United States, focusing more on disaggregating the descriptions of social class and achievement. They found 55 schools that came close to abolishing the ability to predict social class on the basis of examination of the achievement data. This evaluation provided enough evidence to justify a re-examination of the way the data is collected in this area.

Edmonds explained how he and his colleagues went on to collect their own data on social class, family background and achievement. The Coleman people had assigned social class on the basis of a nine item survey listing encyclopedia, daily newspaper, etc., in which children were asked to indicate how many of these items were in the home. Edmonds, finding this approach unsophisticated, devised his own approach, analyzing children grades 3-7 from the Lansing, Michigan school district. To determine social class, he used data from the pupil folders, containing information such as number of children in the family, birth order, primary language spoken in the home, family occupation, parents' occupation and parents' education. He also used census data which included the assessed property value of the home, whether it was rented or owned, the racial composition of the building and the block, the condition of the plumbing, and the number of people per room. Only after going through over 25 data bits, did he assign social class. Five social class subsets were determined, ranging from poor to middle class.

To determine achievement, Edmonds and team used standardized test scores from every achievement test the children had taken since they entered the school system as well as assessed standard state-based criteria referenced achievement batteries, grades 4 and 7.

After analyzing all of this data, focusing in on single schools, they analyzed the interaction between pupil performance as measured by test results and pupil membership in social class subsets. They found that there were schools that were instructionally effective in delivering basic reading and math skills to inner city children.

Next, Edmonds reported, he set out to determine the institutional and organizational differences between schools that were instructionally effective and those that were not. He studied the full range of characteristics that describe school size, pupil/teacher ratio, per pupil expenditures, ethnic income, etc. He and his colleagues interviewed teachers, principals and all school personnel as well as observing the life of school and classroom. He concluded that there are five differences between effective and ineffective schools. They are:

1. Style of institutional leadership as provided by the principal
2. Instructional emphasis
3. School climate
4. Teacher behavior based on expectations
5. Presence, use and response to standardized instruction for measuring pupil progress

Edmonds stated that his team has reached the firm conclusion that the major obstacle to institutional improvement in poor schools is the failure of school people to do differently what they have been doing despite the fact that it has been demonstrated to be very ineffective for a large portion of the pupil population. Schools serving middle class requires each child to meet certain demonstrable standards of skills acquisition as a requisite to promotion.

In conjunction with this, the New York City schools have abandoned their dependence on commercially prepared norm reference tests and will be substituting locally generated, nationally validated criteria measures that derive from the standardized curriculum in reading, writing and math. These tests will be centrally administered and children in the fourth and seventh grades who do not pass them, may not be promoted. Any child that fails a promotion will have the opportunity to participate in a set of centrally subsidized programs designed to correct the deficiency that prevented the promotion.

The premises underlying these policies are: that all children are educable; that their education derives primarily from the nature of the school to which they are sent, as contrasted with the nature of the family or neighborhood from which they come; and that children who start out not doing well in school get further and further behind the longer they go to school. The objective is to stop the continuous movement of children who are not prepared to do academic work at each of the levels of schooling that will make them successful at the next level.

In concluding his remarks, Edmonds contended that the fact that instructionally effective schools exist in some places but not in others is due to lack of political will, rather than lack of knowledge. Education, he stated, is a social service and social servants serve only those they think they must.

Dr. Lois Martin, Associate Superintendent, Montgomery County, Maryland Public Schools

Dr. Martin expressed her desire that, the "word be spread" of Edmonds' findings that family background need not determine achievement, since she feels only a fraction of people are aware of or operate on that premise. She pointed out

that Edmonds' findings are of great relevance to not only urban low-achieving schools but to rural low-achieving schools as well.

Dr. Martin identified four areas in which she feels we need to focus in the 80s: 1) viewing the school as the educational unit, with the principal as instructional leader and parents as active partners; 2) specifying more clearly our definition of achievement and improving educational measurement; 3) defining our expectations for schools in terms of substance rather than style and focusing on support systems for educators, and 4) broadening the role of educators in public policy making.

Dr. John Crew, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Baltimore Public Schools

Dr. Crew indicated that Baltimore has 60,000 youngsters who meet the criteria for economically and educationally disadvantaged but that the school system has been able to improve achievement rates steadily over the past several years. He identified some of the steps that have been taken in Baltimore to make the schools more effective, including setting goals for teachers and administrators, redefining the curriculum, improving the climate for instruction, clarifying teacher expectancies and instituting a promotional policy and a graduation policy which specified requirements which must be met. Dr. Crew reiterated the need to convince students, staff and the public that achievement can be improved.

Crew also singled out the Baltimore Blueprint Program funded by the Office of School Improvement of the U.S. Department of Education as an example of an urban school improvement program. The project, he explained, is observing the quality of interaction in three or four Baltimore schools.

Shirley Jackson, Director, Basic Skills Improvement Program, U.S. Department of Education

Ms. Jackson pointed out that the ideas put fortn by Ron Edmonds are not new, that for a number of years it has been known that there have been some schools in poor neighborhoods that were instructionally effective. She cited the Weber Study (1971), that identified effective poor schools and described those schools in case study format, the New York Study (1974), tnat identified 12 schools that were instructionally effective for poor children, the AIR Study (1973), Rand Studies (1975-8), Compensatory Education Studies (1972), Follow Through Studies (1972), the Rosenthal-Jacobson Study (1968) and the Craft Project (1964). Ms. Jackson indicated that the characteristics found by Edmonds correlate closely with those found by the earlier studies, but that no action was taken as a result of them. She submitted that more schools have not been made effective for poor students because it is politically unpopular and many do not believe it can be done.

Ms. Jackson stated that if she were to rank order Edmonds' five variables, she would put leadership first since this can determine climate, and affect teacher efficacy and expectations. She emphasized the importance of teacher expectations in influencing student achievement, citing the Rosenthal-Jacobson studies in which student achievement correlated with what teachers were told about the students in advance.

Ms. Jackson identified four areas which she felt Edmonds did not address in his discussion. These included: a) the desirability of building models or case study documentations of his school interventions so that others can learn from them; b) tne role of the research on planned change in school intervention; c) the consequences for the teachers who have a large number of students who do not meet achievement standards; and d) the feasibility of replicating the characteristics of successful schools in other schools.

Ron Edmonds, Response

Edmonds then responded to some of the issues raised by the reactors.

Regarding any results he could identify thus far from his project, he indicated that he is unable to determine results at this point in the project. He explained that the first year of the project was devoted to validating the accuracy of the five characteristics for New York and designing the interventions, and that the actual interventions just began this school year.

Regarding the issue of case study documentation, Edmonds indicated that the grant from Ford does subsidize a "documentation unit" whose job is to record the evaluation and the description of the intervention process for each school.

In response to the issue of what happens to the teachers whose students fail, Edmonds stated that creating an environment in which it is possible to describe what needs to be done in the classroom makes it easier to raise this issue and that he will be better able to discuss the issue a year from now after the teacher contracts are negotiated.

Regarding the role of parents, Edmonds explained that as an administrator he is a strong advocate of parent participation but that as a researcher he has found no social science evidence to indicate that parent participation correlates with school effectiveness or ineffectiveness. Some of the effective schools have high levels of parent participation and some have low; some of the ineffective schools have high levels and some have low. He added that he cannot recommend an approach to school improvement that relies on parent participation because one may not be able to get it.

Discussion

Fanya Djouadi from the Arlington Public Schools requested clarification on the relationship between teacher effect and school effect and asked whether the School Improvement Project directs itself at administrators rather than teachers. Edmonds replied that the evidence suggests that school effectiveness is a function not of the aggregate of individual teacher effects but of the sum total of institutional effects, i.e., schools that are effective tend to elevate teacher behavior and schools that are ineffective tend to depress teacher productivity. The Project, he explained, does not confine its attention to the administrators, rather it works on the areas in which each particular school is weakest. For example in those schools in which the principal is not acting as instructional leader, he/she may be assigned to a retired principal with a good record who can teach him/her how to visit classes, review instructional programs, deal with teachers, etc.

Gene Kelly, Dean of the School of Education and Human Development of George Washington University queried Edmonds on the extent to which his project has had an effect upon inservice efforts for the total school rather than small units. Edmonds explained that most interventions are in response to a particular staff need that arises. He gave an example of a school in which the teachers didn't understand achievement data and the Project, therefore, brought in a measurement professor to conduct seminars on the import of such data and how to use it.

Dennis Gray, Council for Basic Education, was interested in whether Edmonds had found any unique form of resistance to his program and how the results of his work might best be communicated to the public. In response, Edmonds indicated that he had not encountered any kind of resistance that he hadn't anticipated, other than a principal who asked to be paid for his participation. Regarding dissemination of his results, he stated that he has no confidence that new knowledge has any effect on public policy in the United States and that what has not been done is not a function of lack of knowledge but lack of will.

George Lowe of the Office of School Improvement, U.S. Department of Education asked what could be done about the fact that many principals, having been trained in physical education, are poorly prepared for instructional leadership.

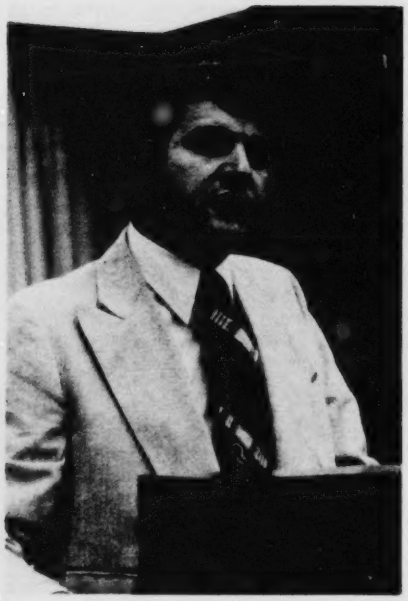
Edmonds replied that often tne only answer is to fire those individuals in positions of administrative leadership who are not able to offer instructional assistance, pointing out tnat in his first 30 days in tne New York City Schools administration, three central administrators were fired every day. He explained that unfortunately central administrations as they exist are not designed to impact school improvement and that they need reorganization. He added that neither he nor Coleman has ever found a total school district which was instructionally effective for poor students, only individual schools.

Shirley Jackson then responded that there are certain behaviors that principals can be taught such as monitoring instruction, crystallyzing goals, monitoring achievement.

Edmonds then commented on suburban schools. He said that his team never found an effective suburban school -- either they did not enroll poor children, or, where they did, their record was worse than the city record. The suburban school, he explained, has no insights to offer in teaching and learning and is not illustrative of good teaching. It merely enrolls students that are already disposed to learn in the narrow way that it knows how to teach.

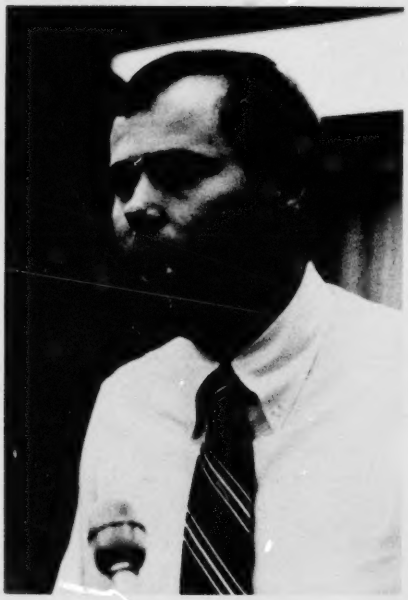
According to Edmonds, both suburbs and cities demonstrate an extraordinary capacity to teach in ways that prevent learning, and this is particularly true when serving a constituency that is politically powerless.

Urban Schools



Edwin K. Martin

Bernard C. Watson



Paul Loughran

Reactors

Gordon McAndrew

Edward Anderson

Alta Newman

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URBAN SCHOOLS

Floretta D. McKenzie, Deputy Assistant Secretary for School Inprovement, presided over the workshop on Urban Schools. Dr. Edwin Martin, Assistant Secretary for Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, introduced the workshop. Kathlyn Moses, Director of the Urban Initiatives Program, introduced the keynote speakers, Dr. Paul Loughran, Director of the School Improvement Project in New York, and Dr. Bernard Watson of Temple University. Reactors were Dr. Gordon McAndrew of the Richland County, South Carolina Public Schools, Dr. Edward Anderson of the Ann Arundel County, Maryland Public Schools and Alta Newman of the Fairfax, Virginia Public Schools.

Dr. Edwin Martin, Assistant Secretary for Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, U.S. Department of Education

Dr. Martin noted that many of the problems remaining with the implementation of the Education of the Handicapped Act seem to be centered around urban areas, particularly the larger cities such as New York, Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles. These problems include identification of populations of unserved handicapped children, lengthy waiting lists for assessment and placement of handicapped students, and the over-representation of minority group children in special education, particularly programs for the retarded and the behaviorally disturbed.

He advocated the development of alternative standards for placing students, citing the reliance on standardized tests and weaknesses in referral systems as causes for over-representation of minorities.

Dr. Martin also reported that the parents of minority handicapped children tend to take part less frequently in the educational services offered their children. This parental involvement is often a key element of success for effective special education programs. He warned against the tendency of some schools to resist parental participation.

Dr. Paul Loughran, Director, School Improvement Project, New York City Public Schools

The New York City School Improvement Project, begun 18 months ago, is based upon the recently emerging research on factors which make successful schools, explained Dr. Loughran. This research, led by Ron Edmonds, who was affiliated with Harvard University, isolated five indicators of effective schools: a positive school climate, an ongoing assessment of pupil ability, strong administrative leadership, an empnasis on basic skills, and positive professional expectations of pupil abilities. The New York City School Improvement Project assists all members of the school community -- parents, administrators, teachers, community people, auxiliary staff -- in using the five factors to develop and implement improvement plans for their school.

Before the work of the school-site planning groups could be implemented, Loughran reported, case studies were initiated in nine New York City Schools to 1) develop instrumentation for a needs assessment series which each school undertakes; 2) train school staffs in needs assessment methodology; and 3) validate Edmonds' findings regarding factors which contribute to effective schools. The case studies were completed a year ago and were successful in meeting all three goals.

Currently, the School Improvement Project is focusing on elementary schools, but intends to move into the intermediate school level by October 1, 1980.

The case study phase of the project was followed by an assessment phase. To begin the assessment phase of the project, Loughran explained, trained school facilitators or school liaisons were hired. Their job was to lead staffs of the individual schools through the assessment process, to develop, under the

principal's leadership, the activities for the planning groups, and to provide ongoing support in the development of the School Improvement Plans. These facilitators are primarily New York City classroom teachers and were chosen very carefully -- twelve were selected out of 650 applicants. Besides a day-to-day understanding of the classroom situation, the requirements for the facilitators are a strong background in basic skills, and capabilities in doing inservice, writing proposals, designing curricula and working with other teachers. He added that they have been very successful.

The facilitators, Loughran noted, are not to supplant the roles of the assistant principals or the principal. The project does not provide permanent staff; the facilitators are in the schools as staff members only through the assessment period, approximately ten weeks.

Loughran pointed out that the purpose of the assessment is not to evaluate but to get all the different constituencies in the school focusing in on the factors which contribute to a successful school and to get the planning process off the ground. He added that the five factors identified in Edmonds' research only provide a framework for the planning group. Other issues, such as class size, also may be points of focus, he continued.

The selection of schools for the project has been a major problem, according to Loughran. The project had to use those schools that volunteered and selected ten out of 42 volunteers, all of which vary in size, settings, pupil populations and student achievement levels.

Loughran observed that the project has very few actual resources to offer the individual schools. The project may be able to supply a few material resources, such as basal readers, if the school makes a commitment to the full use of these resources, but for the most part schools must make do with what they have.

The first group of nine schools they have worked with, Loughran explained has completed the assessment and the school plan, and this phase has been successful. The plans were being analyzed during the summer of 1980 and those that were approved would be implemented over the 1980-81 school year. A second group of schools begin their assessment process in October of 1980. Each of the 19 schools is from a different one of New York's 32 districts. It is uncertain whether they will have the funding to expand the program to all 32 districts. The project has three-to-four year evaluation plans which use pupil achievement as the measure.

Loughran mentioned that the School Improvement Project is an umbrella program receiving funding from the New York State Central Grant Program, the Ford and Carnegie Foundations and using Federal Title IV-C monies. These multiple funding sources, he added, have been beneficial to the project, allowing for needed flexibility and thus avoiding a rigid adherence to one particular program design. However, the project is really considered a pilot. At the end of the three year cycle it is hoped that the process would be implemented in the schools with tax-levied money.

Dr. Bernard Watson, Vice President for Academic Administration, Temple University, Philadelphia Pennsylvania

According to Dr. Watson, we have effective urban schools and this should not be surprising. Determining what makes a school successful is not a complicated process, he contended. Parents, teachers, administrators and students alike can tell you when they have a good school.

Dr. Watson suggested three elements which are essential for effective schools: parental involvement in the school, teachers' understanding of their roles and responsibilities, and the students' acceptance of their responsibility in the learning process.

Dr. Watson then verbally sketched a profile of one successful school which he had attended in order to illustrate how to determine whether a school is effective. On paper, the school and its students would not have appeared to be the traditionally successful institution, he said. However, he continued, the students of this school constantly outperformed neighboring school students in all competitive areas, in academic as well as athletic arenas, and went on to be successful in careers. He expressed his belief that test scores are not accurate predictors of effective schools.

Citing other examples of successful schools, Watson concluded that we know what the important elements are in effective schools, and we know how to assess them, but that our problem has been to decide that we are going to achieve them and follow through on tnat, holding people accountable.

Watson does not believe it is possible to reform an educational system, only individual students. What you can do in a system, he feels, is to create a framework where that kind of individual improvement can go on, that a well thought out and executed plan is necessary for attaining any substantial improvement. He also contended that you have to be very serious about what the outcome is going to be.

To emphasize his points, Dr. Watson supported and quoted Harold Howe's view of improving schools: "Bringing about a commitment to the purposes of our schools cannot be legislated by state or national government. It is more the business of local school boards and local superintendents and still more of principals and teachers. But, state and national governments can help in two ways: by providing funds and refraining from writing detailed prescriptions on how they ought to be used. The best rethinking and reform of practice in the schools will come from persons who encounter children everyday, not from persons removed from that experience."

In closing, Dr. Watson warned that the task of improving schools could not be accomplished quickly. "We are engaged in a long, difficult struggle with intractable and multifaceted difficulties. We shall still be so engaged at the onset of the 1990s and beyond. There is no quick fix."

Dr. Gordon McAndrew, Superintendent of Schools, Richland County School District No. 1, Columbia, South Carolina

Dr. McAndrew observed that it has now become fashionable among the middle classes to express great alarm at the state of public schooling in this country, and suggested that this is a rationalization for the middle classes' abandonment, in large numbers, of those public schools. This abandonment has profound political consequences, according to McAndrew, because the cities' political leaders are making the decisions which impact on the resources available to the public schools but they are not sending their children to the public schools and therefore don't have a gut-level commitment to them.

Additionally, the widespread disaffection with public schools has a devastating effect on the morale of parents, students and teachers who continue to support the public school system, said Dr. Mc Andrew. He believes that this low morale factor may be the single most important and critical factor which urban schools are facing today.

Dr. McAndrew specified four areas which are critical for public schools to address: 1) the basic skills movement to guarantee student literacy; 2) the establishment of expectations which stimulate and motivate the brighter students; 3) the selection, preparation and compensation of principals, the instructional leaders of the schools, which he feels is most important; and 4) citizen participation in schools and school issues.

McAndrew also observed that slowly a new political leadership is emerging in the nation's cities and he suggested this

new leadership is in need of nurturing. However, he questioned whether the new leadership will emerge quickly enough to prevent the complete demoralization of our cities and the school systems which serve students in those areas.

Dr. Edward Anderson, Superintendent, Anne Arundel Public Schools, Anne Arundel County, Maryland

Dr. Anderson identified the strength and length of tenure of the superintendent as the key to the effectiveness of a school system. He believes that one of the most important things a principal does is to select and assign principals. The superintendent must be responsible for the success or failure of the personnel he assigns. In order to effectively select and assign principals, he said, it is necessary to examine the needs of each neighborhood.

Likewise, Anderson contended, the key to the effectiveness of the individual schools is the strength, tenure in office and ability of the principal. He spoke of the need for the principal to be able to work well with the community and to work well with the school staff, setting high standards for performance. He referred to the importance of the principal's role in selecting and assigning staff that meet the needs of the school.

Anderson pointed out the importance of setting standards of excellence at all levels and of openly confronting any failures to meet those standards. He also emphasized the need for stability in a school system, warning that a continuous turnover of superintendents, principals, and teachers impedes school effectiveness.

Concluding on an optimistic note, Dr. Anderson expressed his belief that school improvement is not dependent on receiving Federal, state or foundation funds but can be done with the funds and personnel that exist.

Alta Newman, Coordinator of Equal Opportunity, Fairfax County Public Schools, Fairfax, Virginia

Ms. Newman called for an expansion of the school improvement discussion to include suburban and rural schools as well as urban ones, noting that the problems faced by some suburban systems are more serious than those facing urban ones. She identified some of the problems facing the suburban system in which she works, including rapid growth, serious drug problems, and an influx of foreign students -- with over 50 languages spoken by students in the county.

Ms. Newman spoke of the importance of tailoring school improvement efforts to the specific needs of the students and the community and cautioned against copying fads and trends that worked in other places. She called for a thorough needs assessment and a systematic approach to program design as a requisite to effective school improvement.

Too often administrators and teachers are not trained in the use of assessment tools, observed Ms. Newman. She discussed one such tool, currently used in Fairfax County, the school audit. About 25 audits are conducted each year by teams of teachers and administrators who spend about a week in the school assessing students', teachers', and parents' perceptions, etc.

For improvement efforts to work, according to Ms. Newman, teachers will need more technical assistance -- volunteers, paraprofessionals, inservice training. She reiterated the need to require high expectations and to avoid using bad home situations as an excuse for lack of achievement. She also called for assignment of teachers to schools where they can be most effective.

Discussion

Shirley Jackson, Director of the Basic Skills Improvement Program, U.S. Department of Education, asked Dr. Loughran what turnkey strategy the project uses so the principal can assume responsibility for the process once the facilitator leaves the school. Loughran replied that after

the facilitator leaves the school, the planning committee continues to follow through on implementation of the improvement plan. Also, the facilitator continues to come back and work with the school and planning committee periodically. And in most cases, the principals of the schools have initiated a leadership role on the planning committee so that the transition, once the facilitators leave, is a smooth one.

Elizabeth Purcell of the National School Volunteer Program asked about the role of volunteers in the school improvement process. Ms. Newman stressed the importance of training volunteers. She explained that even though volunteers have been in Fairfax County schools since the early 1960s, in recent years they discovered that they hadn't really taught them what to do. The county has a training program as well as a volunteer coordinator who works with four area volunteer coordinators and they serve as a resource for all volunteers. Dr. Anderson added the principals and teachers need training in how best to use the services of volunteers.

Dr. Gene Kelly, Dean, School of Education, George Washington University asked what is being done to increase citizen participation in schools and to what extent schools are being used more as a basis for community education and services. In response Dr. McAndrew cited instances in which local businesses "adopt" a school. In other words, business establishments form a working, helping, exchange relationship with a particular school. Also, Dr. Anderson said each school in his county has a Citizen Advisory Committee which requires a wide membership, not simply representation by parents. Dr. Watson noted that the nation is beginning to return to the concept of using its schools as a community center. He cited the extensive use of schools by the county recreation department and the community college. This multi-service approach has resulted in shared utility costs and, thus, savings to the school system.

Ron Buckham of the National Institute of Education noted that all of the speakers seem to have agreed that a) we already know what to do to improve schools, b) the people are the key to school improvement not the technology, and c) school improvement is not happening to the degree it should be. He wondered whether the problem was that too many members of the school community discouraged change, that risk of advocating change was too great. Dr. Watson replied that there is really very little risk to a principal or a teacher in making changes because the superintendents and principals usually don't know what is going on anyway. He said that it was his belief that support for change is happening on a unit-by-unit basis even though it is not yet apparent across the board. Buckham disagreed, contending that change is not happening in 90 percent of the schools.

Lois Martin of the Montgomery County, Maryland Public Schools asked Dr. McAndrew what he thinks the impact of the New York School Improvement Project will be in the field. McAndrew replied that, on the one hand, many schools do not trust projects that originate from the Central Office. But, he continued, on the other hand, the New York Project is reasonable in that it is not imposing large amounts of money which are going to be pulled out. He stated that the question of follow-through and continuation of the work is critical. Ms. Martin asked what the superintendent could do, to which McAndrew responded that superintendents can try to bring about the necessary leadership.

Barbara Whyte, Parent Education Specialist with the Headstart Program in Montgomery County expressed her concern about the resistance of administrators, principals, and teachers to parent involvement in the school. She asked whether teacher training institutions were addressing this issue. Dr. McAndrew replied that educators perpetuate a kind of rhetoric which decries that lack of citizen interest in the schools, but then when they get citizen involvement they find it an additional burden. Dr. Anderson added that there has to be a

strong Board of Education policy statement about citizen advisory groups along with regulations and guidelines for principals which are enforced.

Sandy Rufflewood, a secondary school principal, observed that there seems to be a movement back to Central Office control over school instructional programs. He suggested that central administrations allow principals the freedom to do their jobs based on their understanding of the needs of their school. He also decried those urban educators who advocate public schools but enroll their own children in private schools. Finally, he pointed out that the publication Urban Public Education in the '80s is available for $5.00 from 1904 Association Drive.

Gene Kelly, Dean of the School of Education at George Washington University observed that our rhetoric constantly puts the other person on the defensive -- parents, teachers, principals, superintendents. He suggested that we put out energies into collaboration instead. Dr. McAndrew agreed with that observation and added that he thinks many of us as educators are not supporting our own institutions. Dr. Watson added that it has been estimated in one large urban center that 85 percent of the teachers and 100 percent of the administrators who work in the system do not have their children in the public schols. Dr. Anderson, however, pointed out that in his system, Anne Arundel County, the reverse is true, that only 7 percent are not involved in the public schools. Ms. McKenzie noted that Anne Arundel County does not manifest the same problems as the major cities do.

Teacher Expectations

F. James Rutherford

Maureen Larkin

Reactors

James T. Guines

Kenneth Haskins

TEACHER EXPECTATIONS

The workshop on Teacher Expectations was chaired by Floretta McKenzie, Deputy Assistant Secretary for School Improvement. Dr. James Rutherford, Assistant Secretary for Educational Research and Improvement introduced the workshop. Kathlyn Moses, Director of the Urban Initiative Program, welcomed the keynote speaker, Maureen McCormack Larkin, Director of the Milwaukee Teacher Expectations Project. Reacting to Ms. Larkin were James Guines of the D.C. Public Schools and Kenneth Haskins of Roxbury Community College.

Dr. James Rutherford, Assistant Secretary for Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education

Dr. Rutherford commented on the difficulty of the problems facing urban education, citing his own work with Project City Science in New York City. He stated that education in our great cities to help children to deal with the complexities of their world is one of our major educational responsibilities. Therefore, he asserted, it is important that we find things in the field that seem to work and share them.

Maureen McCormack Larkin, Director, Milwaukee Teacher Expectation Project, Milwaukee, Wisconsin Public Schools

Ms. Larkin described two projects in Milwaukee, Wisconsin that seek to improve achievement in urban schools by raising the expectations teachers and other educators hold for their students. The Teacher Expectation Project focuses on individual teachers, while the School Improvement Project, Project RISE (Rising to Individual Scholastic Excellence), deals with the entire school unit.

This work is based on the assumption that socioeconomic status need not be an impediment to achievement. Her project holds that low achievement is the result not of cultural deficit or child deficit, but rather of school deficit, the differential treatment of students resulting from school norms, policies, and teacher behavior. The objective of the two interventions she described is to modify teacher expectations and school practices so that students will perform at national norms regardless of their background.

Ms. Larkin explained the genesis of the two projects. Prompted by her frustrations at working in Title I schools for a number of years and making little or no progress, she decided to do her own examination of the research on achievement. The work of James Coleman, (Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey), she found, identified three student variables related to student achievement -- motivation, self-concept, and locus of control. Minority students showed high motivation and self-concept, but they lacked a sense of internal control over events. Of eight parent variables, one -- parental aspiration -- was linked with academic achievement. It appeared to Ms. Larkin that the factors that might have the greatest influence over students' sense of control and parental aspiration were the teacher and the school. Ms. Larkin also found that Coleman had overlooked teacher interaction with students in his study of school-related variables. She concluded that Coleman had been misinterpreted to say that schools can't make a difference rather than that schools haven't made a difference.

At the same time Ms. Larkin discovered the "effective schools" literature -- Edmonds and Frederiksen, Weber, Brookover and Lezotte -- which provided further evidence that schools make a difference. She followed her research analysis with visits to schools that had been identified as instructionally effective for students from low-income families, in an effort to identify positive practices and characteristics. She was struck by the high level of expectations she observed in all of these schools.

The first result of her study was the Teacher Expectation Project, funded by ESEA Title IV-C. Ms. Larkin asked

50 schools to participate in a six - seminar training program and selected 35 participants from among 500 teacher volunteers.

Ms. Larkin discussed the three components of the project. The first component was the Information and Awareness Seminars. These seminars were designed to assist teachers in addressing the question of why the achievement levels were so low among low-income minority students. Participants reviewed the research on the subject through lectures, presentations, discussions, and simulation, and also explored their own attitudes.

The second component was the Support Seminars in which teachers and principals from effective schools and researchers who had studied effective schools shared their experiences and successes in working in low-income minority areas.

The third component was the Educational Interventions. During this phase, teachers identified the essential elements exemplified by the successful schools, developed modules on each of them, and then discussed the types of interventions that might be used by their schools.

The project's training program is distinctive in it emphasis on changing the attitudes as well as behaviors of teachers. It is Ms. Larkin's underlying assumption that behavior cannot be changed without cnanging attitudes.

Ms. Larkin next discussed the project evaluations. The project was evaluated by the teachers who all indicated that they had become far more self-conscious of the significance of their role in raising the achievement of their students regardless of social background. About 55% of tne teachers volunteered for an analysis of their academic gains.

A number of teachers indicated that their biggest constraint was their lack of support and cooperation in the schools in which they worked. It was suggested that in the future such training be given to total school staffs rather than to isolated individuals. The future replication of this project will act on that recommendation.

The project has developed a manual and materials for use by principals and supervisors in conducting their own expectation training.

Moving from a focus on teachers to an intervention that involves the entire school staff, Ms. Larkin next described the Milwaukee School Improvement Project, Project RISE. The project was created in response to a Board of Education mandate requiring that the 20 lowest achieving schools be at or above national norms within three years.

Project RISE, Ms. Larkin explained, began with a discussion of the relationship of school expectations to achievement with principals from each of the 20 schools. This was followed by a leadership conference to build community support for the effort and to provide a background orientation for the basic premises of Project RISE. Mr. Edmonds from the New York City Public Schools and Mr. Brookover from the University of Michigan came in and met with all of the leaders of the major community agencies in Milwaukee and the central school administrators and principals.

Following this informational session, she continued, the principals developed and conducted needs assessments of their schools, using Ron Edmonds' five essential elements of successful schools as a framework. From the individual school needs assessments, a composite needs assessment was developed which indicated that many of the problems were similar.

Based on the composite needs assessment a Local School Planning Guide was developed to provide assistance to principals. It addressed six major areas of need -- curriculum, instruction, evaluation, coordination of all educational services and parental/community support.

The principals met on a monthly basis and the Superintendent and Superintendent's staff were invited to all meetings. Since there were still a number of people who did not believe achievement could be raised, the project sponsored a number of symposia, bringing in people from successful programs through the National Diffusion Network. The University of Wisconsin also offered two courses for the principals which review the research. In addition, the project provided several principals the opportunity to visit successful schools which proved to be extremely beneficial since it offered first hand experience.

Finally the principals developed School Improvement Plans for their schools. These plans were then reviewed by the Superintendent. In 1980-81, the project will focus on implementing the plans, with programs to be measured by pre- and post- testing.

Ms. Larkin stated that she has observed a great sense of change in the schools since the project began, and cited an example of a school which was able to generate major changes in its physical environment as evidence.

In concluding her remarks, Ms. Larkin made the following recommendations:

1) Offer expectations inservice training to administrators and teachers at all educational levels.

2) Promote staff development related to effective school characteristics and practices.

3) Provide leadership training which views the principal as the instructional leader rather than the building manager.

4) Identify disciplined intellectual training as the goal of schooling and eliminate distractions from this goal.

5) Offer school-wide staff inservice.

6) Guard against supplementary programs antithetical to school goals. Ms. Larkin gave as an example pull-out programs (such as Title I) that isolate low-achieving students. Special programs, she stated, detract from time-on-task thus contributing to low-achievement levels.

7) Set high standards. These help form school expectations.

James T. Guines, Associate Superintendent, Washington, D.C. Public Schools

Mr. Guines took issue with Ms. Larkin's emphasis on the role of teacher. He stated that racism, poverty, and language barriers are determining factors in forming expectations and suggested that a complete institutional reorientation will be necessary before educators will be able to divorce school expectations from background. Cultural difference, he believes, interferes with understanding.

Kenneth Haskin, President, Roxbury Community College, Boston, Massachusetts.

Mr. Haskin reaffirmed the existence of research-based evidence documenting school effectiveness. The failure to publicize and disseminate such information, he said, is due to political considerations. According to Haskin, fundamental change will not result from good will; rather, we must recognize that the school effectiveness movement is a political struggle and that we are entitled to hold schools accountable for teaching results. Haskin also drew attention to Ms. Larkin's interest in attitude change, pointing out that behavior change can be legislated without changing attitudes, as the civil rights movement demonstrated.

In conclusion, Haskin cautioned against allowing school improvement to become a fad. He stated that we must learn how to maintain success; that we must depend on power rather than good will; and that we should be wary of strong ties with the back-to-basics movement, much of which supports

conservative practices (e.g., deference to authority, emphasis on obedience) that may be antitnetical to tne goals of school effectiveness.

Maureen Larkin, Response

In response, Ms. Larkin acknowledged the importance of political factors, but stated that many errors are based on misinformation rather than bad will and that there are things teachers can do. She reaffirmed her belief that teacher behavior would not change unless attitudes were altered. She briefly discussed the importance of parental support as contrasted with involvement. Support, she said, is not attendance at PTA meetings, but rather monitoring children's school attendance and homework and demanding that schools hold high expectations. She called for expectations inservice for parents.

Dr. Guines then added that institutional change cannot be mandated, that if beliefs and ideology are changed, the results will be far more lasting.

Discussion

Wouldn't highly political school board members obstruct change, asked Reggie Pearman, Department of Education Teacher Centers Program. Dr. Guines responded that the Board and tne Superintendent must be involved in any project from the outset. Mr. Haskin, however, pointed out that there are differing views of the change process. Some believe it best operates top-down, others on a school-by-school basis.

Dennis Gray, Council for Basic Education, asked how the Milwaukee Project was measuring gains, whether project personnel were being accused of teaching the test, and the nature of press coverage for the project. Ms. Larkin stated that the Metropolitan Standardized Test was being used; and that Milwaukee schools were no more guilty of teacning the test than most others. With respect to press coverage, the project has elicited support of some local newspapers, but no major ones. It is her feeling that, in general, the press prefers to cover bad news on education, not good news. She pointed out that the Milwaukee Journal covered Coleman and Jencks but not Edmonds.

Lois Martin, Montgomery County Schools, asked what Milwaukee was doing to avoid the Title I "pull-out" approacn. Ms. Larkin responded that tney have asked the scnools to find alternative ways of teacning Title I students within tne regular classroom.

Shirley Jackson, Basic Skills Improvement Program, U.S. Department of Education, commended Ms. Larkin on the systematic approacn sne had taken in developing the project, i.e. examining the research literature on her own and tnen moving to practical applications. She expressed her belief tnat this process is necessary for school improvement. She then asked wnether the traits of successful administrators nad been identified. The project nad not specifically done tnis, Ms. Larkin said, but cited work done by Jeanette Brewer in Philadelphia. She also mentioned the School Effectiveness Resource Network wnich gatners information on cnaracteristics of effective schools.

Ron Havelock, American University, asked whether Department of Education resources nad been used in either of the projects. Ms. Larkin explained that tnrough the publication "Programs that Work," she had learned of validated projects in the National Diffusion Network. Her goal was not to adopt a specific approach, but to be able to demonstrate that students can acnieve regardless of background.

Harriet Bernstein, Institute for Educational Leadership, addressed the issue of behavior vs. attitudes. She suggested that teacher/student interactions are highly complex. For this reason, the experience of the civil rights movement (and its empnasis on legislating changed behaviors) might not be relevent, she said. In response, Mr. Haskin stated his agreement with tne

notion that attitude change is more lasting and significant. But, he asked, can we afford to wait until that occurs? In the meantime, he recommended that we attempt to achieve behavioral change. Dr. Guines then cited an example of a case in which attitude change resulted in behavior changes. In 1966 in Richmond, school dropouts spoke to the media about why they had dropped out, indicting the schools and arousing the public to action.

Marcello Fernandez, Washington D.C. Public Schools, cautioned that we must be realistic in our expectations and that we should not overpromise. As an example, he described the foreign speaking person who could indeed learn to speak English, but who might always retain an accent. Ms. Larkin, however, reiterated her belief in the importance of setting high expectations. She pointed to John Carroll's critique of normal distribution which is designed to sort, which invariably dooms some to failure. In contrast, an approach such as mastery learning operates from the premise that everyone can succeed and makes it possible for teachers to concentrate on those students who most need help.

Helen McArthur of the Office of School Improvement, U.S. Department of Education, observed that Reinhold Niebuhr's theory of individual good will and moral good was of relevance to the discussion.

Jean Narayanan, Director of the Horace Mann Learning Center, U.S. Department of Education, called for expectation inservice at the Federal level as well.

Cynthia Brown

Lawrence Lezotte

Reactors

Doxie Wilkerson

Michael Cohen

James Vasquez

EFFECTIVE TEACHER TRAINING

The workshop on Effective Teacher Training was chaired by John Minor, Acting Director of the Teacher Corps. Cynthia Brown, Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights introduced the worksnop. Kathlyn Moses, Director of the Urban Initiative Program, introduced the keynote speaker, Dr. Lawrence Lezotte, Associate Director of the Institute for Research on Teaching, Michigan State University, East Lansing. Reacting to Dr. Lezotte's address were Dr. Doxie Wilkerson of Mediax Associates James Vasquez of San Antonio, Texas, and Michael Cohen of the National Institute of Education.

Cynthia Brown, Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education

Ms. Brown discussed the role of the Office of Civil Rights in assuring equal access to education in urban areas. She explained that in addition to reviewing and investigating discrimination, the Office provides technical assistance to school systems to help them to comply with civil rights laws enacted by Congress dealing with race, sex and handicap.

Dr. Lawrence Lezotte, Associate Director of the Institute for Research on Teaching, Michigan State University, East Lansing

Dr. Lezotte recommended the 1975 Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (NSSE), entitled Teacher Education as an important source of thought on teacher training. He cited the particular chapter by Richard Turner, entitled "An Overview of Research on Teacher Education," which contains a conceptual framework for thinking about effective teacher training that focuses on teacher work success.

Lezotte set forth as his major thesis that an effective teacher training program (both preservice and inservice) should begin from and be based upon an analysis of teacher work success. Most of our teacher training programs, he noted, have been developed around curriculum content and processes which have theoretical validity but which ignore the critical elements of teacher work success. Lezotte suggested that effective teacher training should utilize a "backward planning" process, i.e., where training programs are developed by going to those places which exemplify intended outcomes and then working backward from that.

He outlined the major steps in what he has termed a "success-based teacher training" program: 1) to locate educational settings that exemplify success, 2) to study the teachers who have been instrumental in producing that success, 3) to analyze that data, 4) to develop training processes that will develop those skills and knowledges in the teaching of new teachers, and 5) to conduct follow-up evaluations to be sure that the training processes are having their intended impact.

Lezotte explained that backward planning would allow us to do a much better job of preparing individuals for teaching roles in specific educational settings, such as urban or suburban. Effective teachers could be identified in these various areas and the practices that each group has in common related to their effectiveness could be studied. Comparison groups of ineffective teachers could also be studied to increase our understanding of which factors are variable and which are not.

For preservice teacher training, he believes, the best field-based experiences would be in those classrooms where teachers are experiencing work success. Lezotte observed that there is currently little attempt made to assess the effectiveness of the supervising teachers prior to placement. He recommended that all teacher training programs carefully scrutinize the supervising teacher before making a student teaching assignment. He added that research has shown that the student teaching experience is the most powerful element

in the training process, that student teachers model their supervising teacher.

Lezotte identified two assumptions on which the backward planning model rests: 1) that a set of criteria for judging teacher success can be agreed upon, and 2) that teacners who meet the criteria can be found. He went on to explain why he believes both are reasonable.

Regarding the criteria, Lezotte argued that criteria for judging teacher work success could be anchored in the current devices for setting educational outcomes, i.e., assessed student performance. He added that, while student experiences outside the classroom are also a factor in their performance, the fact that students of some teachers consistently perform well and students of others do not, indicates that teacher effect is critical.

Regarding ability to identify instances of teacher work success, Lezotte pointed to the research on instructionally effective schools (Edmonds et al.) which provides convincing evidence that there are teachers that are experiencing substantial work success. He cited the following studies on teacher effectiveness as illustrative: The California Beginning Teacher Evaluation Study, the work of Barah Rosenshine on Teaching Behavior and Student Achievement, Donald Medley's Teacher Competence and Teacher Effectiveness, and Kean et al's What Works in Reading.

Lezotte went on to discuss related issues in teacher education, beginning with preservice. First, he recommended that preservice teacher training programs recognize and utilize the cumulative impact of prior non-formal teacher observation experience and eliminate some of the accordingly redundant curriculum content. He also suggested a pre-training assessment process in order to individualize teacher training and to assist students in developing more accurate conceptions of the teaching role.

A second concern identified by Lezotte regarding preservice was the disciplinary imbalance of our teacher training programs. He spoke of the over-emphasis of our teacher training programs on psychology, which leads teachers to think in terms of individuals when in fact the teacher must teach in a group setting. He recommended more emphasis on disciplines like sociology which can provide assistance in group behavior and dynamics to help teachers cope with classroom realities.

The third concern identified by Lezotte regarding preservice was that students from teacher training programs leave those programs convinced that they will not be effective. He recommended that teacher training programs have as a goal the graduate's feeling and he/she is adequately prepared. An effective teacher training program, according to Lezotte, should include enough real teacher experience so that the prospective teacher can develop the confidence needed to approach the teaching role with a realistic hope of success. This, he said, is even more crucial in the urban areas.

Lezotte then discussed inservice issues. He prefaced his remarks by noting that inservice requires a very different orientation from preservice because both occur in different contexts. Inservice deals with the teacher in the context of a functioning social system, complete with its own norms, beliefs and expectations. As a consequence of the reality of this social system, the knowledge and skills acquired in inservice teacher training do not always result in changed teacher behavior.

What can be done to increase the effectiveness of inservice training? First, said Lezotte, inservice experiences should be organized around the school as a total unit. They should include as many teachers from a single school as possible, both to increase the likelihood of adjusting prevailing norms and to provide a support group for teachers who are motivated to implement change. It

should also recognize the importance of the administrator in the change process.

Second, he suggested that higher education change its orientation in inservice programs from an expert orientation to one of collaboration. Related to that is the need for higher education to change its institutional patterns to reward, not penalize, faculty who are effective in the collaborative arrangement.

Third, he discussed the importance of the context for effective inservice training. He believes that a reasonable arrangement and a reasonably high level of institutional and individual commitment is required. Inservice training programs must recognize that school improvement is a process of change and as such requires time -- time for planning, deliberation, implementation, evaluation, more planning, etc. A commitment must be made to regular and frequent meetings for that purpose only. According to Lezotte the greatest problems with inservice effectiveness have to do with the context in which they operate more so than with their content.

The final point made regarding inservice was that, once again, the best individuals to provide inservice for school improvement would be those experiencing high levels of success in the workplace, both teachers and principals, respectively.

Dr. Lezotte closed with a quote from The One Best System: The History of American Urban Education by David Tyach: "To create urban schools which really teach students, which reflect the pluralism of society, which serve the quest of social justice, this is a task which will take persistence, imagination, wisdom and wealth."

Dr. Doxie Wilkerson, Vice President, Mediax Associates, Inc.

Dr. Wilkerson was very much in agreement with all of Lezotte's ideas. He observed that Lezotte's approach differs from what prevails in education research in several ways: he uses learning outcomes as criteria; he studies schools in motion rather than statically; he utilizes data which are "soft," but which yield insights which statistics do not often yield.

Wilkerson called for more qualitative rather than quantitative analysis in teacher and school effectiveness research. He recommended the use of anthropological methods such as those used by Eleanor Lee Cox, Teaching and Learning in Urban Schools, and Estelle Fuchs, Teachers Talk.

Wilkerson commended Lezotte for his emphasis on clarity of goals as requisite for school improvement. He reinforced the importance of using clear objectives to actually guide the education process.

He also commended Lezotte for noting the need to assess teacher effectiveness by means of student performance. He reinforced his statement that outside obstacles to student learning are not an excuse for accepting student non-achievement; that such obstacles merely require us to devise alternate means of reaching students. He cited a principal of a low-income inner-city elementary school in New York whose students achieved way above city averages because he monitored teachers based on their achievement success.

Wilkerson called on the Department of Education to be more stringent in holding the teacher education programs which it funds accountable for demonstrating results. He cited the Education Professions Development Act program which spent $800 million but was not effectively evaluated.

Wilkerson also emphasized the importance of teacher expectations. He cited the Rosenthal-Jacobson studies of the '60s which illustrated the self-fulfilling prophecies that teacher expectations can cause. He criticized intelligence tests as contributing to poor teacher expectations for inner-city children and serving no useful educational purpose. The job of education, he

said, is not to predict, but to frustrate predictions. Wilkerson acknowledged that the problems underlying poor teacher expectations for black children are societal problems which need to be solved economically and politically, but stated that schools must still try to minimize the deleterious effects of such problems on the learning process.

He suggested that educators assess children's learning abilities by means of "soft," qualitative data such as observation and interviews, rather than by testing. He recommended that the Department of Education foster alternative approaches to assessing intellectual abilities which would be more meaningful for teacher education and student learning.

Citing Lezotte's observation that effective schools evidenced more professional interchange, Wilkerson called for more in-school collaboration among teachers and principals on classroom problems. He recommended that inservice education reject the workshop/lecture approach and move into the classroom and the school itself to assist teachers with their real problems -- individualizing instruction, dealing with destructive student behavior, etc. He pointed out that inservice education which is not oriented to teacher problems often does not transfer to the classroom.

Wilkerson recommended the use of the "helping teacher model" for providing assistance to classroom teachers. He cited a "helping teacher" program in Stamford, Connecticut in which skilled experienced teachers are freed of classroom activities to provide assistance to other teachers. He also cited the helping teacher model developed by Bill Morris of Michigan. He called for increased sponsorship of this idea, adding that it seems to be easier than trying to help principals become instructional leaders.

Finally, Wilkerson reinforced Lezotte's emphasis on the school as the strategic unit for improvement, stating that the organization of the whole school staff for professional growth is the most effective strategy for improving the quality of urban schools.

James Vasquez, Superintendent, Edgewood Independent School District, San Antonio, Texas

Vasquez was also in total agreement with the ideas set forth by Lezotte. He described some of his efforts in trying to improve preservice and inservice teacher education in his district in San Antonio, which has a student population of low-income Spanish speaking students. He explained that because his district cannot attract highly qualified teachers, it has had to devote a great deal of effort to inservice and thus has become one of the largest teacher training institutions in the state. He added that the state does not recognize the educational needs of the population he serves and therefore they are reliant to a large extent on Federal assistance.

Michael Cohen, Senior Associate, Office of Teaching and Learning, National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Education

Cohen also enthusiastically supported Lezotte's view on teacher training. However, he offered a critique of the effective schools research of which Lezotte has been a part. Cohen expressed support for the contributions made by Lezotte, Edmonds, et al. in demonstrating that schools do make a difference for poor and minority youngsters; that the school is the appropriate unit of analysis and improvement; and that the social organization of schools and classroom is critical. However, he criticized the effective schools research for basing itself on one view of the schools when there are several other views of the schools which also have validity and which would have different implications for school improvement.

Cohen pointed out that the five key elements identified for effective schools, including strong principal leadership, agreement on instructional goals, testing linked to goals, conform to a view of schools as bureaucratic organizations in a classical sociological

sense, i.e., goal-oriented, hierarchical and central management. Another view of schools, however, says that schools do not conform to a classical bureaucratic model of organization, but rather to a model of a loosely coupled organization. This view emphasizes that there are weak connections between principals and teachers and among teachers, that there are strong limitations on principals' abilities to influence teacher behavior, that teachers are influenced by multiple forces other than hierarchical authority, and that agreement on instructionl goals is rare and problematic.

Cohen explained that the effective schools research view of schools is considerably different from what we know about schools in general. One interpretation of this difference is that unusually effective schools are effective because they are different -- more tightly managed, etc. However, he went on, we don't really have enough knowledge to determine whether this is the case.

Another view of the schools, Cohen pointed out, is the view of the school as community, again in the sociological sense. According to this view, a shared system of beliefs and ideologies binds the staff and principal together and, from this, leadership develops. The implication of this model is that common beliefs that exist among staff should be preserved and protected.

Moving on from that set of issues, Cohen addressed Lezotte's ideas on classroom management. He wholeheartedly agreed with Lezotte's observation that a sociological view of classrooms is necessary.

He then went on to add a series of insights from the research on grouping practices in classrooms. Cohen pointed out that two of the major factors that influence grouping practices in classrooms are the size of the classroom and the heterogeneity of it. The larger the classroom and the more heterogeneous the ability levels, the more instructional groups that develop. In different instructional groups, the pacing of instruction differs, i.e., the high-achievement groups tend to learn more quickly than the low-achievement groups. Teacher expectations then, he explained, are, in part, a response to these circumstances.

Cohen then discussed the research on alternative ways of managing heterogeneity in the classroom, developed at NIE's Center for Social Organization of Schools at Johns Hopkins University. Their alternative involves formation of heterogeneous teams which mix high-achieving, middle-achieving, and low-achieving students by sex and by race and which compete in class. This grouping, by changing the social structure of the classroom, increased the achievement level in the classsroom across the board, changed the social norms in the classroom in favor of academic performance, and increased peer tutoring and cross-race friendships.

Another area that Cohen discussed was teacher expectations. He pointed out that teacher expectations influence students'expectations of their own performance and their own sense of efficacy. He spoke of the research that NIE is funding in attribution theory which looks at the way in which students make attributions of their own success and failure in the classroom. This line of research places responsibility for student performance in the classroom jointly on what the teacher does and what the student does.

Finally Cohen reacted to Lezotte's concept of success-based teacher training, stating that it sounded very similar to competency-based teacher education.

In sum, he reiterated his belief in the sociology for understanding teacher effectiveness.

Lawrence Lezotte, Response

Lezotte, responding to Cohen, discussed the difference between success-based teacher training and competency-based teacher training. The competency-based

notion assumes that the competencies are known in the abstract and are then used to develop training programs, where the success-based notion starts with practice rather than theory and works backward from that.

Lezotte also responded to the concept of the school as a loosely-coupled organization. He identified the key question as being whether or not these organizations are doing what we want them to do in the most efficient, effective way.

Discussion

A participant raised the issue of teaching content, asking Lezotte how teacher training proposes to address the problem of teachers' lack of command of the subject they are teaching. Lezotte replied that one of the major problems is at the university level, that the authority over content rests outside the jurisdiction of those who are involved in teacher training. This system results in teacners who have neither good pedagogical skills nor well-rounded knowledge of the subject. He identified the need to find ways to integrate content and process more effectively.

Another participant sought Lezotte's reaction to a continuum model of teacher training which provides for some integration of preservice and inservice training and also his recommendations on the kind of rewards that are needed for university faculty to participate more effectively in teacher training. Lezotte replied that he can accept the continuum notion as long as there is a clear recognition that a student trainee is different from a teacher who is a member of a professional social group and that this difference is operating on the teacher. Regarding the reward system, he stated that what is needed is to use traditional rewards -- salary increases and promotion -- but to apply them for different types of activities such as working out in the field.

The next questioner identified the problem of effective teachers who are unwilling or ineffective at teaching others. Lezotte responded that alternative arrangements need to be worked out for effective teachers who are unable to train others. For example, the teacher can be offered support services which would assist in freeing up some of his/her time to work with a trainee. The questioner then raised the problem of the successful teacher who cannot explain the reason why a practice works or how it is done. Lezotte replied that we need to help teachers in verbalizing what it is they do and what their personal theories are.

Next Lezotte was asked what interaction staff attitudes and expectations have in relation to the context of effective teacher training and whether the skills are always sufficient to guarantee the desired behavior. Lezotte replied that the behavioral results will have to determine the answer to that question. He also stated that they have been very conscious of attitudes in their research and the extent to which attitudes condition behavior. Mr. Cohen added that many of the teacher effect studies that NIE has funded have shown that inservice training has resulted in changed teacher behavior in the classroom and corresponding increases in student achievement. Mr. Vasquez commented that in his experience many of the teachers that come into the teacher training programs have the appropriate beliefs and value system, so that the success of the programs results from some interaction between the content of the programs and the teachers dispositions.

The next questioner, noting the emphasis being placed on the principal as instructional leader and the impact of the principal on teacher effectiveness, asked what changes are necessary in administration or training. In response, Mr. Vasquez commented that he had put all of his principals on a one-year contract since he feels the principal must be the agent of change. Lezotte replied that central administrators need to change their expectations for principals, since all of the principals he has talked to indicate they would prefer to spend less

time on management concerns but they are not permitted to. In terms of principal training he recommended an apprenticeship model, in which former principals who have been exceptionally effective would train and advise other principals on-site.

Mr. Cohen was asked to explain why he feels so favorably toward the attribution theory research but not toward the expectation and efficacy research. Cohen replied that he feels the teacher expectation research overstates the causal importance of expectations, since many expectations just mirror past performance. He stated that if effective schools have teachers with high expectations it does not necessarily mean that the expectations caused the performance, they may have resulted from it. Attribution theory, on the other hand, said Cohen, provides a more compelling explanation for how teacher expectations influence performance by looking at the interaction between teachers and students that changes the students expectations for themselves. He explained that he thinks it is more revealing to consider the effect of teacher expectations and student expectations jointly on student performance than to focus exclusively on teacher expectation. Also, attribution theory is broader in that is looks at other factors beside teacher expectations that influence the attributions students make of their ability, such as competition, grading, etc.

A participant then asked Lezotte to clarify his statement that classroom teachers are not equipped to deal with disruptive children. In response, Lezotte explained that improving teacher skills in inservice is not enough if the social system he/she must work in is not responsive or supportive.

A final question for Dr. Lezotte dealt with supervision and evaluation of teachers as an aspect of inservice training and the role of the principals in such a process. Lezotte replied that one thing he is trying to do is to use the helping teacher model to provide critical feedback for teachers, rather than getting into the use of personnel records. The role of the principal would be to create a context where teachers can come together to talk about problems in this way. He cited the work of Jerry Brophy at Michigan State which demonstrated that just making teachers aware of certain aspects of their behavior was for many sufficient to get them to reassess their patterns, adding that many times the observations of other teachers can be very effective.

Dr. Minor indicated that copies of Dr. Lezotte's book, which was funded by Teacher Corps, are available.